4: Silva--259 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Illustrations facing p. 177 in the original source./

Preparation of the Caapi (Wanana tribe, Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés)

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• 354

Oven (axtaro, Nh. yapuna)

/180 cont./

323 The last operation consists of the firing. Around the vessels are kindled some logs of firewood; little by little, other logs are added, so that the vessels are surrounded by the flames until they are well fired, that is, to the point of ringing. With half an hour /181/ of intense fire, they are ready; some will show a whitish color, others, a reddish one. These are the ones that are better baked.

*[192] In order to make the vessels dark, glossy, and impermeable, they start by rubbing them well, inside and out, with leaves of cubio /Solanum/, extóa pũrĩ, or of abio /Lucuma/, kãrẽ pũrĩ. They then kindle a small fire with wet leaves, so that there is a great deal of smoke, which is first received in the interior part of the pot or cooking pot, turned upside down, and then also on the exterior part. Finally, the vessel will be washed and will then display the dark color, almost black, fast, and, moreover, it has been made impermeable.

The vessels are relatively light, with the durability suitable for their use. They can be exposed to more intense fire, without cracking or letting the water or the liquid that is kept in them flow out. One sees some large vessels almost a meter in diameter and more than half a meter in height, therefore with a capacity of several hundred liters.

*[192] The vessel for the caapí, kaxpi-tõ, differs from the others not only in shape, since it is similar to an amphora with a narrow mouth and provided with two small side handles, but also in being decorated with designs.

The kaxpí-tõ, after use in the feasts, is regularly kept outside the maloca, hanging on one of the corner posts. We were unable to learn the reason for this custom.

• 354 *[192] 2) Stove or trivet. The stove always consists of three vessels of baked clay, called vitari-a (in Nheengatú, itacurúa), among which the firebrands are placed. They are cylindrical in shape, but with the bases somewhat widened, almost as if they were two superimposed truncated cones, and this gives them greater stability. They measure approximately 25 centimeters in height and 10 in diameter. They are quite light and with the advantage of

/181 cont./

• 354 being heated only on the face turned toward the fire, and thus they can be handled by the other face when one wants to move them. They are arranged at a distance suitable for the dimensions of the cooking pots. Upon these vessels are placed the cooking pots for the preparation of mingau or quinhapira.

*[192] 3) Oven. The oven, axtá-ro (Nh. yapúna), consists of a vessel of baked clay, flat as a tray, two to four centimeters thick. It measures from 80 to 120 centimeters (14)

> 14. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 335) says that he found an oven up to 2 meters in diameter and with meander designs on the support.

in diameter, with rims /182/ of 10 to 15 centimeters. It is black, of the same composition as the camotins. Due to its size and weight, it is not customarily moved from its position, which is on a stove or furnace of clay, circular in shape, with a side opening through which the firewood is introduced. The diameter of the stove, 50 to 100 centimeters, varies according to the

*[192] Trivet (vitári-a) and pot support (sã'ri-ró)

dimensions of the oven, and the latter, according to the quantity of flour to be prepared. Sometimes the oven is simply set on three or four stones stuck in the ground.

/182 cont./

• 354

*[192] Oven (axta-ro) and large vessel for drinks (pêru-tõ)

The ovens of large dimensions are manufactured at the place where they will be used. That is, on top of the furnace, previously prepared, the woman arranges a grate of quite compact poles, spreads on top a fine layer of earth, for the purpose of better leveling, and, with the mud ropes, starts making the oven, from the center of the flat part, until she reaches the dimensions that she desires. After it is dry, it is fired right there, as is done with the camotins.

Among the Suryana we saw a large oven prepared on top of an excavation made in the floor of the house, serving as a mold. It was left to dry right there, and afterwards the oven was fired.

*[192] /183/ An oven with slightly higher rims, for the preparation of flour, is to be distinguished and is called poká-axteri axtá-ro, and one with lower rims for that of beijú is the ahũ-ga peóri-axtá-ro.

b) Wooden implements.

412 *[192] The tools for their work in wood were originally the stone ax, õxtã-komẽ, the adze, syó-a, also of stone, and fire, pexká-mẽ. With a piece of dark diabase (15),

15. They are found in some cachoeiras, for example, in the Pirá-paraná, and already semiworked by the waters.

polished against the stones, they made their primitive ax. For

/197 cont./

*192 • 354 6) Support for the cooking pot. With paxiúba splints about 40 or 50 centimeters in length, they prepare a support for the cooking pots, called sɨ̃'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés sɨ̃'nĩ-nõ).

It is essentially a bunch of splints, tied with cipo or embira in the central part, and the ends of which widen so as to form a spiral, in such a way that the sɨ̃'rĩ-rõ is similar to a double spiral-shaped cone, with a binding around the vertex. The ends are fixed by means of cipo or embira about two or three centimeters apart.

*192 415 7) Box for ornaments. It is a rectangular box, generally of miritĩ stalk reduced to laminae, which is used for storing the plumes and other dance ornaments. Since one box is smaller than another, the former is introduced inside the latter, as if it were its lid, in such a way that it remains tightly closed and in the shape of a trunk. In Tukano it is called mahɨ̃-poarĩ-karo, and in Nheengatú, pacará.

*192 285 8) Other plaited work.

a) Moreover, they weave the fronds from several palms to serve as roofing, peókaro, and even more frequently as walls, tyákaro.

/198/ b) They make mats for various purposes, called imĩ-sa (Nh. tupé), with leaves of different palm trees or with finer cipos.

c) With a rapid plaiting of the leaflets of some palm frond they improvise baskets, ba:, in order to transport fruits from the forest.

d) From the pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./ and other leaves they make up small bindings, called sɨ̃: or sá:, in the shape of an ear of maize, which they fill with pirá-mirims /a kind of fish/, in order to roast them.

/203 cont./

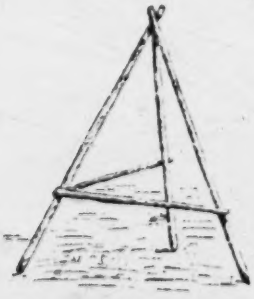
• 354
*[192]

f) Other objects of domestic use.

1) Tripod and grill. A very simple and very useful utensil is what in Tukano is called ñamá, deer. It is, properly speaking, a tripod, consisting of three poles of about two meters or more in length and whose thickness varies according to the size and use, generally a few centimeters in diameter. They are connected at the upper end by means of a cipo or embira and are kept separate in the lower part with the help of two sticks about 80 or 100 centimeters from the ground. There being only these two sticks, the base of the apparatus can be extended or narrow, as one wishes, or the tripod can even be closed and leaned against the wall to save space.

On top of these sticks is put the sieve in which the mass of mandioca is pressed by hand, while a pot collects the liquid, or manicuera. There can also be put on top of these sticks a kind of grill or moquém, in Tukano waĺ kaxsá, made of rounded pieces of wood. /204/ The fish or the meat that one wants to "moquear" /to smoke/, according to the Amazonian expression, is placed on the grill, and the fire underneath.

*[192]



Tripod (ñamá)

One also finds the grill fixed to four stakes solidly planted in a corner of the maloca.

278 /289 cont./

757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

> 45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b)): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night
[164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/349 cont./

796
[354]
[554]

Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2)) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight; the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59).

[833]

59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

[833] At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for ex-
[768] ample, return to the parental community with their children. There are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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pared. Other men picked up the horns and danced. The whipping could not begin before dark and it was evident that the man preparing the switch was working slowly so as not to finish too soon. The deliberation of his movements added to the apprehension of the boys. As the last rays of light in the doorway faded, the boys suddenly leaped from the bench and bolted out of the house. The man who was preparing the whip ran to the doorway and shouted at them to come back. All but one returned. The boy who did not return was a fatherless orphan and a maverick who did not share foraged food with his age mates.

The boys took their seats again and the men resumed dancing with the ancestor horns. They danced until the house was pitch black. A taper was lighted and *Bwü*, represented by the senior member of the initiating group, stepped forward. He dragged the first boy to

Fig. 9. *Bâhukiwa* boy.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaces – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when

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ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62- B]

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

pottery making, a craft which has been all but forgotten among many of the Indians of Colombia.

Throughout the afternoon the women continue with their tasks while the men prepare their tobacco and smoke it wrapped in long cylinders of banana leaf, or take snuff, lying in their hammocks or crouching on small wooden stools. The snuff, kept in gourds or large snail shells, is made in most cases from ground tobacco; it is first placed in the palm of the hand, then a small quantity is poured into a hollow V-shaped deer bone, and is injected into the nostrils by inserting one end of the V in the nose and the other in the mouth and blowing.

During the afternoon an Indian burns the *yarumo* leaves from the coca basket in the centre of the *maloca*, the ash being carefully raked into a neat pile on the earthen floor. Earlier the coca leaves from the basket had been baked in a large earthenware pot over a hot fire, all the while being stirred with a hooped stick. The toasted leaves were then powdered inside a short wooden cylinder. They are further refined by being put into a barkcloth bag wrapped round a heavy stick, and beaten inside a large cylinder. The *yarumo* ash is added to the finely ground powder – this ash takes away the bitterness, and perhaps also the worst effects of the drug – and once again the mixed coca and ash is beaten in the long cylinder to the consistency of dust. Often this involved procedure goes on far into the night, and we became quite accustomed to go to sleep with the monotonous thudding noise still reverberating around the *maloca*. With the final process completed the powder is emptied into a half-gourd or into small barkcloth pouches, ready for the next journey or hunting trip, during which an Indian may live solely on the drug, going without sleep, food and drink for days.

The inscrutable nature of the Tukano may in part be due to his addiction to cocaine which deadens his senses and affects the eyes so that the pupils often appear dilated. This may also account for a lack of individuality among many of the men who often appear listless and resigned.

At dusk the hunters return and sometimes a monkey or a wild turkey helps out with the evening meal of cassava. The only light in the *maloca* after dark comes from the fires, but on special occasions, such as a festival, the head of the house places a chunk of beeswax taken from a wild bees' nest in the forest on a large post in the centre of the *maloca*, lighting it with a firebrand. But the flickering light barely penetrates the gloom. At other times a strip of slow-burning resinous wood is put in a fork of the same post. It is this wood – a type of cedar – which the Indians use to travel with at night, allowing it to smoulder and blowing it into flame when needed. As night comes the doors are secured and, except for the sporadic mumblings of a few old Indians squatting around the fires, all is silent.

The Tukano is a hunter. From his early childhood he develops the ability

/p. 82-A/

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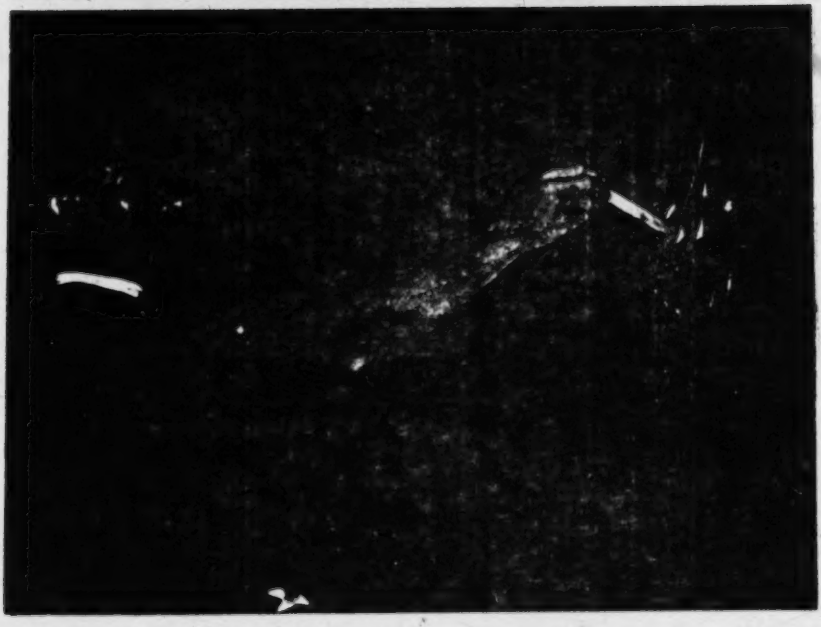

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse
594 group, which is also the basic unit of economic redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each married woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

[251] [354] [264] [562] 61

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]